

Message Text

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HEREWITH FULL TEXT SEYMOUR M. HERSH TOP FRONT PAGE BY-LINER
NEW YORK TIMES JANUARY 12 HEADED "A MILITARY 'RING' LINKED
TO SPYING ON WHITE HOUSE -- PLUMBERS REPORTEDLY FOUND PLOT
TO INFORM PENTAGON ON SECRET CHINA TALKS"

WASHINGTON, JAN. 11 -- THE WHITE HOUSE INVESTIGATIVE
UNIT KNOWN AS THE PLUMBERS UNCOVERED EVIDENCE IN LATE 1971
THAT A "RING" OF MILITARY OFFICERS WAS ATTEMPTING TO RELAY
HIGHLY CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ON THE CHINA TALKS AND OTHER
MATTERS TO OFFICIALS IN THE PENTAGON, WELL-INFORMED SOURCES
REPORT.

SOME OF THE OFFICIALS WERE ASSIGNED TO THE NATIONAL
UNCLASSIFIED

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SECURITY COUNCIL.

THE SECRET INQUIRY, HEADED BY DAVID R. YOUNG, JR., THEN
A CO-DIRECTOR OF THE PLUMBERS, WAS SAID TO HAVE DETERMINED

THAT AT LEAST TWO MILITARY OFFICERS HAD PARTICIPATED IN APPARENTLY ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES -- INCLUDING THE RANSACKING OF CLASSIFIED FILES AND THE UNAUTHORIZED PHOTOCOPYING OF DOCUMENTS -- IN AN APPARENT ATTEMPT TO KEEP HIGH PENTAGON

OFFICIALS UP-TO-DATE ON WHITE HOUSE NEGOTIATIONS.

ALTHOUGH NO CHARGES WERE FILED FORMALLY, THE SOURCES ADDED, AS MANY AS SIX MILITARY MEN WERE REASSIGNED AFTER THE INVESTIGATION.

IT WAS THIS INVESTIGATION, RELIABLE SOURCES SAID, THAT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY CITED BY PRESIDENT NIXON AS THE "NATIONAL SECURITY" MATTER THAT JUSTIFIED HIS INITIAL ATTEMPT LAST SPRING TO LIMIT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT'S INVESTIGATION OF THE PLUMBERS.

THE SOURCES SAID THAT MR. YOUNG AND HENRY A. KISSINGER, NOW THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THEN HEAD OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, SUSPECTED THAT REPORTS ON THE WHITE HOUSE'S VIETNAM AND THE SOVIET UNION WERE BEING LEAKED TO SECRETARY OF DEFENSE MELVIN R. LAIRD AND ADM. THOMAS H. MOORER, CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF.

DETAILS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE OFFICIALLY LIMITED TO A FEW OFFICIALS IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL'S STAFF.

THE HIGHEST RANKING OFFICER REASSIGNED, SOURCES SAID, WAS REAR ADM. ROBERT O. WELANDER, WHO WAS THEN SERVING AS THE LIAISON OFFICER BETWEEN THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

NEITHER ADMIRAL WELANDER NOR MR. LAIRD, NOW A WHITE HOUSE AIDE, COULD BE REACHED TODAY, BUT ADMIRAL MOORER DENOUNCED THE ALLEGATION THAT HE HAD RECEIVED CLASSIFIED INFORMATION THROUGH INDIRECT CHANNELS AS "LUDICROUS."
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DURING MR. YOUNG'S INVESTIGATION, SOURCES SAID, HE WAS ORDERED TO REPORT PERIODICALLY TO GEN. ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR., THEN MR. KISSINGER'S KEY DEPUTY IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND NOW THE WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF. THIS WAS THE FIRST INDICATION THAT MR. YOUNG, A FORMER AIDE TO MR. KISSINGER, MAINTAINED A PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COUNCIL WHILE SERVING WITH THE PLUMBERS. MR. KISSINGER HAD REPEATEDLY DENIED ANY KNOWLEDGE OF THE PLUMBERS' ACTIVITIES.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SECRET WHITE HOUSE INVESTIGATION WAS INITIALLY PUBLISHED TODAY BY THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE,

WHICH SAID THAT THE CASE WAS THE "MYSTERIOUS" NATIONAL SECURITY MATTER SO OFTEN CITED BY PRESIDENT NIXON TO JUSTIFY HIS DECISION TO SET UP THE PLUMBERS IN MID-1971.

A NEW YORK TIMES INVESTIGATION, HOWEVER, HAD PREVIOUSLY ESTABLISHED THAT THERE WAS A WIDE DIVERSITY OF OPINION AMONG HIGH-LEVEL WHITE HOUSE AIDES OVER THE SIGNIFICANCE AND ACCURACY OF THE PLUMBERS' FINDINGS.

ONE GROUP, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT SOME MILITARY MEN ASSIGNED TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL HAD COPIED DOCUMENTS TO WHICH THEY DID NOT FORMALLY HAVE ACCESS, DESCRIBED THE INCIDENT AS "JUST PLAIN IN-HOUSE RINKY-DINK STUFF" AND SAID THAT NO LINK HAD BEEN MADE BETWEEN THE OFFICERS AND ANY PUBLIC DISSEMINATION OF CLASSIFIED PAPERS, INCLUDING THE INDIA-PAKISTAN DOCUMENTS.

ANOTHER VIEWPOINT

ANOTHER GROUP, WHICH INCLUDES SOME OF MR. YOUNG'S FORMER COLLEAGUES AND PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCES, SAID THAT THE PLUMBERS "REALLY DID UNCOVER A RING OF SOME SORT INSIDE THE N.S.C." ONE SOURCE SAID THAT ONE OF THE MILITARY MEN WORKING IN THE COUNCIL WAS "ACTUALLY GOING THROUGH OTHER PEOPLE'S FILES."

THE SOURCES ALL AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT MR. YOUNG'S INQUIRY INTO POSSIBLE WRONGDOING INSIDE THE SECURITY UNCLASSIFIED

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COUNCIL DID NOT BEGIN UNTIL 1971, AFTER THE PUBLICATION OF THE ANDERSON PAPERS, AND COULD NOT HAVE BEEN INVOLVED, AS REPORTED, IN MR. NIXON'S DECISION TO SET UP THE PLUMBERS UNIT SIX MONTHS EARLIER.

THE TIMES INVESTIGATION ALSO DETERMINED THAT THOSE FEW OFFICIALS WHO WERE APPRISED OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL INQUIRY WERE DIVIDED ABOUT THE PROPRIETY OF KEEP-ING IT SECRET.

FOR EXAMPLE, DETAILS OF THE PLUMBERS INQUIRY WERE PROVIDED AT A SECRET BRIEFING LAST SUMMER TO SENATOR SAM J. ERVIN, JR., DEMOCRAT OF NORTH CAROLINA AND HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., REPUBLICAN OF TENNESSEE. THE TWO RANKING MEMBERS OF THE SENATE WATERGATE COMMITTEE REPORTEDLY AGREED SUBSEQUENTLY TO KEEP THE INFORMATION SECRET, ALTHOUGH MR. BAKER SAID PUBLICLY AT THE TIME THAT HE WAS DOING SO ONLY AT THE SPECIFIC REQUEST OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

SOME WHITE HOUSE ADVISERS HAD REPORTEDLY URGED THAT DETAILS OF THE N.S.C. INQUIRY BE MADE PUBLIC LAST YEAR, APPARENTLY TO BUTTRESS THE WHITE HOUSE'S CONTENTION THAT SIGNIFICANT NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES WERE AT STAKE IN THE

PLUMBERS ACTIVITIES. BUT THE ADVOCATES OF DISCLOSURE WERE OVERRULED BY A FACTION HEADED BY J. FRED BUZHARDT, JR., THE WHITE HOUSE COUNSEL, WHO WAS THEN DEEPLY INVOLVED IN WATERGATE MATTERS.

BUT IT WAS MR. BUZHARDT, SOURCES SAID, WHO WAS ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR COORDINATING THE PENTAGON'S ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH THE PLUMBERS INVESTIGATION IN LATE 1971. AT THAT TIME, MR. BUZHARDT WAS THE GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

WHITE HOUSE AND JUSTICE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS WHO HAVE BEEN FULLY APPRISED OF THE PLUMBERS INQUIRY AGREED IN INTER-VIEWS, HOWEVER, THAT THE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE MILITARY'S ACTIVITIES INSIDE THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL NEEDED TO BE EXPLORED IN PUBLIC.

"OBVIOUSLY," ONE SENIOR OFFICIAL SAID, "THIS KIND OF UNCLASSIFIED

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INFORMATION SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED. IT ISN'T SOMETHING THAT SHOULD BE ADJUDICATED INSIDE THE WASHINGTON RUMOR MILL."

THE OFFICIAL'S POINT WAS THAT NOT MUCH HAD BEEN PROVED ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES -- AND THE INTENT -- OF THE MILITARY MEN INVOLVED IN SOME OF THE INCIDENTS IN LATE 1971.

ONE CLUE TO THE IMCOMPLETENESS OF THE PLUMBERS INQUIRY WAS PROVIDED BY PRESIDENT NIXON AT A NEWS CONFERENCE ON FEB. 10, 1972, THREE MONTHS AFTER PUBLICATION OF THE INDIA-PAKISTAN PAPERS BY MR. ANDERSON.

"WE HAVE A LOT OF CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE" ON THE IDENTITY OF MR. ANDERSON'S SOURCE THE PRESIDENT SAID, ADDING, "AS A LAWYER, I CAN SAY THAT WE DO NOT HAVE EVIDENCE THAT I CONSIDER ADEQUATE OR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL CONSIDERS ADEQUATE TO TAKE TO COURT."

"YOU CAN BE SURE THAT THE INVESTIGATION IS CONTINUING," MR. NIXON SAID. "IF THE INVESTIGATION GETS A BREAK WHICH PROVIDES THE KIND OF EVIDENCE WHICH WILL STAND UP IN COURT, WE WILL PRESENT IT. BUT WE CANNOT GO TO COURT ON CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE."

FIVE DAYS LATER, MR. ANDERSON PUBLICLY DECLARED THAT THE WHITE HOUSE, IN EFFECT HAD PUNISHED THE WRONG MAN BY "BANISHING ADMIRAL WELANDER FROM HIS JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF POSITION TO SEA DUTY." "I NEVER TALKED TO WELANDER," MR. ANDERSON SAID. "HE GAVE ME NOTHING."

ADMIRAL WELANDER WAS LATER REASSIGNED TO THE PENTAGON,

AND IS NOW SERVING AS ASSISTANT DEPUTY CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS FOR PLANS AND POLICY, CONSIDERED TO BE A CHOICE NAVY ASSIGNMENT.

IN A TELEPHONE INTERVIEW TODAY FROM CHICAGO, MR. ANDERSON REITERATED HIS BELIEF THAT "THEY DID NOT GET MY SOURCE." HE ALSO RIDICULED THE PLUMBERS' APPARENT BELIEF THAT HE HAD BEEN PROVIDED THE INDIA-PAKISTAN PAPERS BY A MEMBER OF THE MILITARY. "THE IDEA THAT SOMEBODY CAME UNCLASSIFIED

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AND DROPPED THOSE PAPERS ON ME IS CRAZY," THE COLUMNIST SAID.

SOURCES SAID THAT A COMPLICATING FACTOR IN ASSESSING THE PLUMBERS INQUIRY WAS THAT -- AS ONE WELL-KNOWN OFFICIAL PUT IT -- "THERE WERE POWER STRUGGLES AND PARANOIA ALL OVER THE WHITE HOUSE."

MR. KISSINGER WAS KNOWN TO BE DEEPLY UPSET AT THE POSSIBILITY OF PREMATURE DISCLOSURE -- BOTH TO THE PUBLIC AND TO THE VARIOUS INVOLVED AGENCIES IN THE GOVERNMENT, SUCH AS THE PENTAGON AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT -- OF HIS DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES. THE YEAR 1971 WAS A BANNER YEAR FOR THE WHITE HOUSE'S SECRET INITIATIVES INVOLVING THE RAPPROCHMENT WITH CHINA AND THE SECRET STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

"WHAT WE NEED TO KNOW," ONE SOURCE SAID, "ARE ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING: TO WHAT EXTENT WAS IT A PENTAGON SCHEME? AND WHO WAS BEHIND IT.

IF SOME OF THE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT MILITARY CONDUCT EVENTUALLY PROVE TO BE TRUE, THIS OFFICIAL ADDED, "THEN WE HAD THE RUDIMENTS OF THE KIND OF THING THAT LEADS TO A MILITARY TAKEOVER." (END TEXT). RUSH

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